12: Rivet--589-590
116, 556

(no date) 1907

Jívaro

The inventory of personal property of the Jíbaro shows us that he [590] is generally very poor: if an individual possesses three changes of clothing, he is considered rich in his tribe.

12: Rivet--590 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
556

The number of dogs that an Indian possesses enters into the estimation of his fortune in the same way as the number of his clothes, his pigs---and his wives.

25: Vigna--44 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 556, 593

It is easy to see that the wealth of the Jíbaro consists in the number of his women. The affection of the latter for their children is intense and touching. This is not always true of their affection for the husband. Instances in which the woman hates her husband and causes his death by poison are nor rare. The women are very clever in the handling of poisons. Many times the men themselves do not know the poisonous herbs, tubers or reeds as well as the women. There are cases in which the women have prepared a poisonous drink of which the effects appeared only some weeks or months after! They have sometimes hidden the fatal substance in their fingernails, and, mixing it with chicha have offered it to the stranger, acquaintance, or husband, thereby procuring the rapid or slow death of their victim; the rage, cunning and malevolence of the Jíbaro woman is beyond belief.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

756 bewitching shamans (*uwumeh*, or *yuhanh wuisiin*: bad shaman) derive their social influence primarily from the fear in which they are held by their neighbors. Their mildly expressed wishes are often interpreted as near commands by laymen. The curing type of shaman (*penar wuisiin*: good shaman) exercises a less ominous type of social power, deriving primarily from the fact that his neighbors tend to view him as an important asset to their welfare. They normally court his favor in order to assure themselves of his future willingness to cure them or members of their family.

• [556] In terms of material goods, shamans are invariably the wealthiest persons and usually candidly admit that they supply their services primarily for the purpose of gaining valuables.

[465] They expect to be paid for their curing or bewitching services with the most highly valued goods available. A single treatment normally nets a curing shaman at least a muzzle-loading shotgun, for example. Often a blowgun, a hunting dog, or a machete is thrown in. Curers often refuse to visit a distant patient unless paid in advance, and, even then, may demand additional payment if the cure requires more than a single night's ministrations.

[431] [558] Among the Jivaro, a request for a gift cannot be refused without the denier "losing face," making it difficult for the majority of persons to hoard quantities of possessions. While non-shamans continually badger each other for gifts, thereby preventing the accumulation of wealth by a few individuals among themselves, they almost never ask shamans for goods, fearing the wrath of the bewitchers and wishing to cultivate the goodwill of the curers. Thus shamans are usually the only persons able to accumulate significant quantities of goods.

Shamans frequently utilize their wealth and social influence to secure specific services from their non-shaman neighbors.

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partnership pattern in recent decades has also been associated with the more common use of the "friend" term of address (*amiki*) between people in general, in preference to kinship terms. The "friend" term is now used increasingly: (1) to remind neighbors and relatives subtly of some earlier obligation, and (2) to indicate a friendly feeling for the person addressed beyond the necessities of kinship obligations.

The only discernible changes in kinship formal structure have occurred in the adoption, increase, or decrease in use of a few specific terms of address by men and the adoption of a men's term of reference (*awe*) by women. A few Achuara terms of address have been introduced through the inter-tribal trading partnerships. These are indicated on Table 1, which shows also the elementary kinship terms of reference and the terms of address.

One of the clearest socio-economic trends has been the tendency for ever greater numbers of persons, especially men, to become shamans, as well as trading partners, during the past few decades. Informants uniformly ascribe this trend to the desire of individuals to acquire "white men's valuables," especially machetes and firearms, and to distribute these goods in order to win friendship. The considerable growth of socio-economic power wielded by shamans in their neighborhoods is also a recent development involving: (1) an increase in their proportionate numbers in the population; (2) a growth in the demand for their services; and (3) an increase in their accumulated material valuables, with the resulting development of some individual differentiation in terms of wealth in trade goods. This development has been facilitated by the fact that the shamans can successfully accumulate goods because of the laymen's fear of asking them for gifts. The rise in numbers of shamans is also believed to have increased the amount of illness and death due to witchcraft.

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partially as a retaliatory response to the growth in fatal bewitchings.

The rise in adultery is attributed to the tendency of young men not to work as hard as in former decades and instead to spend their time visiting other households to drink beer, look for sexual partners, and perhaps obtain trade goods through making "friends." This increase in intra-neighborhood visiting and shamanism may be due to the greater leisure time available for the men since the introduction of steel cutting tools, but informants themselves primarily ascribe the trends in visiting and shamanism to the young men's fixation on the acquisition of the "white man's valuables," particularly firearms, and a resultant de-emphasis on hard physical work, especially in land clearing.

The growth in witchcraft, and of the sanctions applied against it, has resulted in an intensification of the traditional Jivaro feuding pattern during the past half-century. The Jivaro partially ascribe this intensification to the decline of inter-tribal head-taking raids which they themselves recognize as having been an activity which acted as an outlet for men who wished to engage in killing. Today, because of the trade-derived inhibitions against raids on the Achuara, killings and protracted feuding have become more frequent within the Jivaro tribe and even within the neighborhood.

Inter-tribal head-taking raids, i.e., "war," in contrast, have declined steadily both in frequency and size for about the last four to five decades. Today usually not more than one such expedition takes place every year, and a war party rarely exceeds forty warriors, whereas at the turn of the century such expeditions apparently were almost monthly attacking the Achuara, and an estimated four hundred to five hundred warriors sometimes took part in a single raid.

The decline in inter-tribal warfare is attributed to the